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## Intelligence Memorandum

DCI Crime and Narcotics Center

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### Colombia: Tainted President Scores Antidrug Successes

#### Summary

*In a year when President Samper was dogged by charges that his campaign knowingly accepted drug trafficker funding-*

*-his government made significant antidrug gains:*

- In a series of US-supported raids, Colombian security forces captured or forced the surrender of numerous top traffickers and key lieutenants of the Cali drug mafia.
- [redacted] Bogota set a new eradication record of over 24,000 hectares of coca, and sprayed some 4,000 hectares of opium poppy plantings.
- Interdiction efforts by the Colombian military helped reduce airborne deliveries of cocaine from Peru.
- Security measures on San Andres island curtailed its use as a major drug transshipment hub, according to a variety of reports.
- A Colombian court granted Prosecutor General Valdivieso a full four-year term ending in 1998.
- The Colombian legislature made money laundering a crime, but the legislation is weak and possibly flawed. [redacted]

*Some aspects of Colombia's counternarcotics effort, however, have not been as effective.* Cocaine seizures and the number of drug laboratories destroyed were below 1994 levels. [redacted] Despite pledges to do so, Bogota has not formulated strong asset forfeiture legislation or a maritime boarding agreement. [redacted]

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## Decapitating the Cali Mafia

In 1995, the Colombian Government scored significant successes against the Cali drug mafia, capturing several mafia kingpins—including Gilberto and Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela and Jose Santacruz Londono—and other top officials and key lieutenants.<sup>1</sup>

[redacted] the Cali infrastructure continues to ship narcotics—albeit probably at reduced levels—the arrests of the top mafia officials is likely to keep the syndicate off-balance in the near term as the kingpins devote attention to the legal cases against them:

Nevertheless, the jailed Cali leaders remain in contact with their organizations and may be running trafficking operations from their jail cells.

<sup>1</sup> Jose Santacruz Londono escaped from prison on 11 January 1996. This paper addresses events in 1995. [redacted]

### Colombia: Key Arrests and Surrenders, 1995

02 March	Jorge Rodriguez Orejuela captured in Cali.
05 June	Cali's top Peruvian cocaine supplier, Abelardo Cachique Rivera captured in Bogota; later transported to Peru.
09 June	Top Cali kingpin Gilberto Rodriguez Orejuela captured.
12 June	Tulio Murcillo Posada, a key element of the Cali mafia financial infrastructure, surrenders in Bogota.
14 June	Eleven members of the mafia's security apparatus captured.
19 June	Henry Loaiza Ceballos, reported head of Cali mafia defensive operations, surrenders in Bogota.
24 June	Victor Patino, reportedly one of the most violent of the top Cali traffickers, surrenders in Bogota.
04 July	Cali kingpin Jose Santacruz Londoño captured in Bogota.
07 July	Julian Murcillo Posada, a key aide to Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela and a principal financial officer of the Cali mafia, captured in Bogota.
08 July	Major Cali money launderer Phanor Arizabaleta surrenders.
05 August	Carlos Espinoza, Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela's reported communications chief, arrested in Cali.
06 August	Cali kingpin Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela captured in Cali.
24 September	Colombian authorities capture Jose Estrada Ramirez, a senior Cali lieutenant with close ties to Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela.

### Other Positive Steps

***Tough Prosecutor, Police Director Stay on the Job.*** In November, a Colombian court ruled that Prosecutor General Valdivieso should complete a full four-year term ending in 1998. Valdivieso has been instrumental in pursuing legal cases against top drug traffickers, and is the driving force behind investigations of politicians—

including President Samper—with alleged links to traffickers. [ ]

[ ] the Cali kingpins paid several judges in an unsuccessful effort to force Valdivieso to leave office in March 1996. The drug lords probably expected that Valdivieso's successor would be more susceptible to corruption, and they may now be more preoccupied with their legal situation. In December, Bogota renewed the term of National Police Director Serrano, who led the effort to capture the Cali kingpins and has pledged to continue antidrug raids. [ ]

**A New Record for Aerial Eradication.** [ ]

[ ] Colombia eradicated 24,046 hectares of coca, and 3,971 hectares of opium poppy plantings in 1995. Coca eradication surpassed the 1995 goal of 20,000 hectares and was well above the 1994 total of 4,676 hectares. Opium eradication was below the 1994 total of 4,676 hectares and short of the Colombian goal of 17,000 hectares.<sup>2</sup> [ ] the opium spraying effort was hampered by the downing of several antidrug aircraft—resulting in the killing of three Colombian pilots—the resignation of several other pilots, and long periods of inclement weather. Bogota has pledged to continue the eradication program and to meet its goal of eradicating all coca and opium poppy plantings by the end of 1996. [ ]

**Counternarcotics Performance Statistics, 1991 to 1995** [ ]

	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991
<i>Coca eradication (ha)</i>	24,046	4,910	793	959	972
<i>Opium eradication (ha)</i>	3,971	4,676	9,821	12,858	1,156
<i>Cocaine base seized (mt)</i>	19.5	32	10.4	5.81	9.28
<i>Cocaine HCL seized (mt)</i>	21.5	30	21.76	31.92	77.07
<i>Opium seized (mt)</i>	0.078	0.128	0.261	0.43	
<i>Heroin/Morphine seized (mt)</i>	0.419	0.181	0.261	0.05	
<i>Cocaine labs destroyed</i>	396	560	401	224	239
<i>Heroin/Morphine labs destroyed</i>	11	9	10	7	5

Sources: INCSR, [ ] (eradication and seizure data supplied by Colombian National Police).

**Interdicting Drug Flights.** Colombia's military made progress in disrupting cocaine deliveries via the air bridge from Peru by strafing or seizing trafficker aircraft on the

<sup>2</sup> Colombia's goal of 17,000 hectares was based in part on the belief that Colombia had as much as 20,000 hectares of potentially harvestable opium. [ ]

ground. These efforts—along with similar actions in Peru—resulted in a decrease in the number of drug flights from Peru and in the prices for coca derivatives at the source [redacted]

***Thwarting Traffickers' Use of San Andres Island.*** [redacted]

heightened security measures at San Andres airport and harbor facilities resulted in significantly decreased large-scale narcotics trafficking from the island and forced a shift in air and maritime trafficking to Colombia's north coast. The island has been an important transit point for aircraft and vessels transporting cocaine from Colombia to the Caribbean and Mexico, and in March 1995 then-Defense Minister Botero publicly announced the security measures to meet US counternarcotics requirements. [redacted]

***Money Laundering Now Illegal.*** In June, President Samper signed Law 190, making money laundering a crime. [redacted] the law alone is insufficient to disrupt money-laundering operations and that additional measures will be needed. [redacted]

**Seizures Down, Asset Forfeiture Law Absent** [redacted]

[redacted] seizures of finished cocaine, cocaine base, and opium—and the number of drug labs destroyed in 1995—were below 1994 levels. Seizures of heroin and morphine increased, however, and police confiscated large quantities of precursor chemicals, according to [redacted] press reports. [redacted]

Despite pledges to do so in 1995, Bogota failed to pass strong asset seizure and forfeiture legislation and a maritime boarding agreement that would allow US officials to board Colombian vessels suspected of carrying narcotics. [redacted]

[redacted] legislation passed in 1974 allows assets to be seized, but the 1991 constitution undermined the government's ability to force their forfeiture. Meanwhile, Bogota says that a maritime boarding agreement proposed [redacted] would violate the Colombian constitution, and formulation of an acceptable agreement has been delayed. [redacted]

**Efforts to Stymie Counterdrug Performance** [redacted]

Bogota's antidrug successes in 1995 came despite a number of hurdles:

- In November, the government was considering a deal with legislators who offered to pass decrees issued under President Samper's state of

emergency—which had been ruled unconstitutional the previous month—in exchange for help in eliminating a system of anonymous judges often used in key drug-trafficking trials.

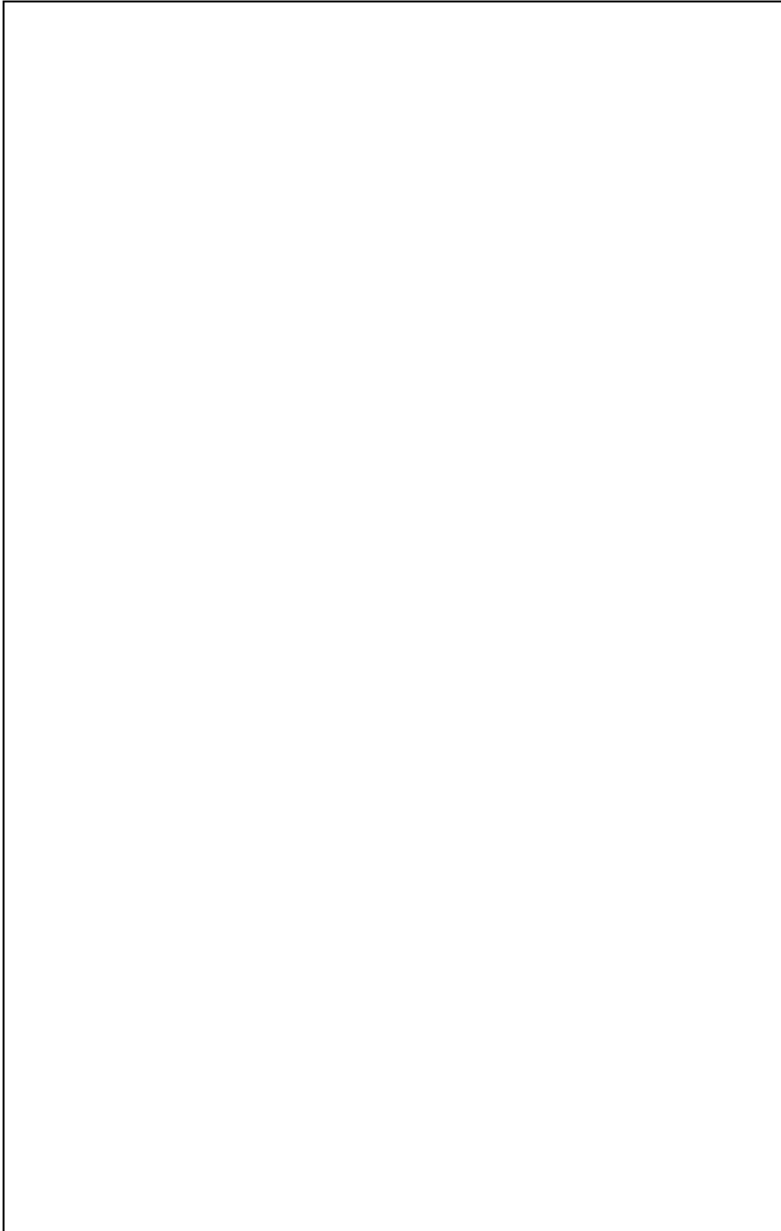
- In October, National Police Director Serrano, who directed operations against the kingpins, told US officials that he believed President Samper was working to have him removed from his position, in part because he was viewed as overly friendly with the United States.
- In September—before he was granted a full, four-year term—Prosecutor General Valdivieso told  that he believed the administration was trying to undermine his prosecution of the captured Cali drug lords and his investigation of the President for accepting trafficker campaign funds.

Valdivieso also said that Attorney General Vasquez worked hard to influence judges to deny the Prosecutor General a full term—one judge resigned after failing to persuade his colleagues to denounce Vasquez's pressure—and Samper's personal attorney also publicly attacked Valdivieso's credibility. While Samper, his attorney, and Vasquez—who is under investigation for accepting trafficker funds—were probably most interested in stalling the investigations against themselves, weakening Valdivieso would have undermined his efforts against drug traffickers as well.

Colombia's Congress also proved to be a significant obstacle. In early December, the Colombian Senate voted to significantly dilute the illegal enrichment statute—the basis for some of the strongest cases against the drug lords. Only a strong negative reaction from the Colombian public prevented the House of Representatives from supporting the Senate's vote, which also would have effectively ended Valdivieso's investigations of congressmen with alleged ties to drug traffickers.

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SUBJECT: Colombia: Tainted President Scores Antidrug Successes



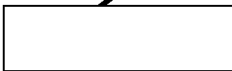
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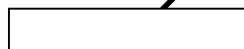
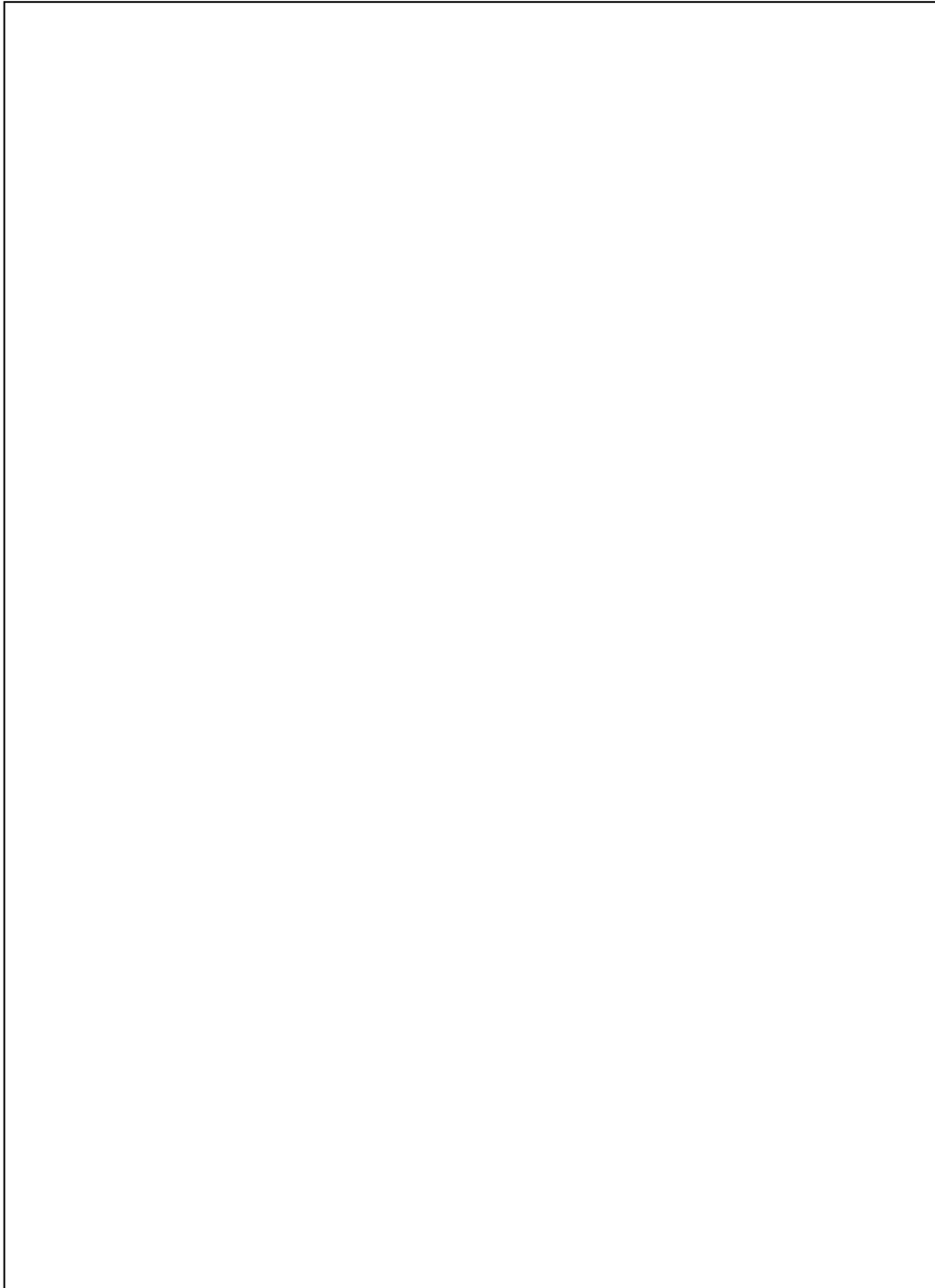


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